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The Commonweal

December 9, 1949

The Australian Elections

James G. Murtagh

Schweitzer, the Philosopher

Max Fischer

A Farewell to Aspirin

Leo J. Trese

VOLUME LI

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NUMBER 9

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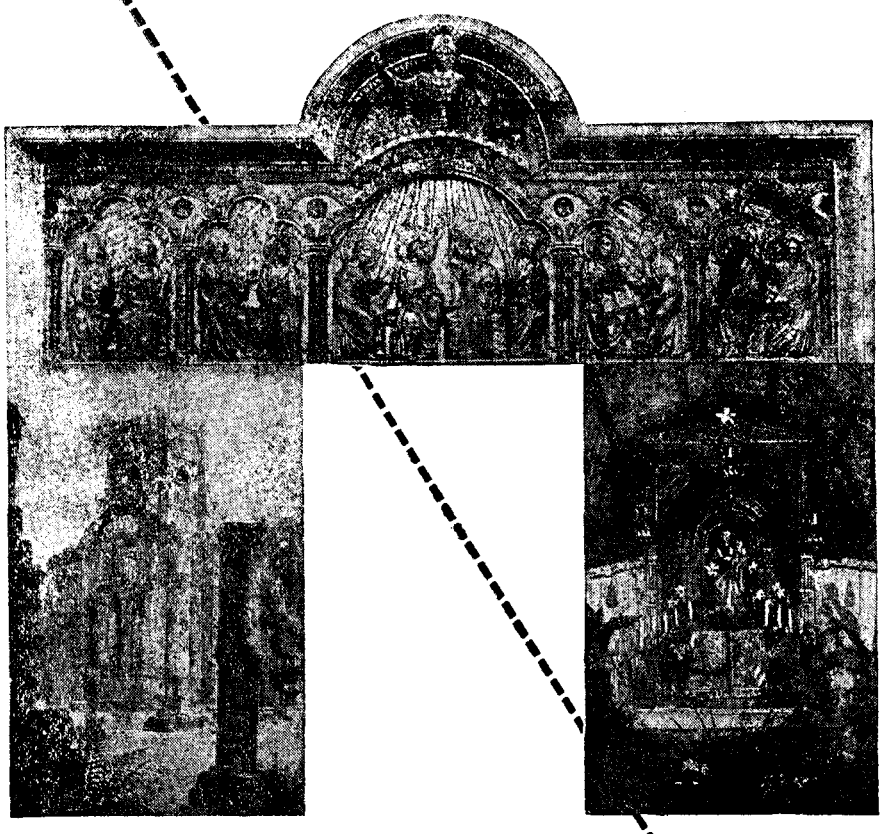

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The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

The Recognition of China

AS THE year ends, four-fifths of China, the world's most populous country, and two-thirds of her 475,000,000 people are in Communist control. For Americans, who have spent this year looking after a cold war in Europe, the seriousness of what has happened in the Far East is only beginning to sink in.

Yet China has not been taken overnight. We have been aware of the Communists' existence for some time. Once it was fashionable to look on the Chinese Communists as local agrarian reformers, with no lines out to International Communism at all. Then at Yalta, our State Department took the position that China could be saved by uniting the Nationalists and the Communists in a coalition government, and General Marshall was sent to China to work out that policy.

Perhaps it would have been better if, to find out what Chinese Communism was, we had read the words of its leader, Mao Tse-tung. In a book called *China's New Democracy,* he said in 1944:

> China's revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. . . . We cannot separate ourselves from the assistance of the Soviet Union.... This genuine San Min Chu I is one that includes Dr. Sun's three revolutionary policies, namely, alliance with the USSR, cooperation with the Communists and protection of the interests of the peasants and workers.

Later, in the *China Digest* of November, 1948, published in Hong Kong, he wrote:

> ...without a revolutionary party built up in accordance with the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs.... The Communist Party of China is such a party which was established and developed with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a model. ...All revolutionary forces within every country must unite with each other. They must organize an anti-imperialist united front headed by the Soviet Union and pursuing a correct policy.

The truth was, the Chinese Communists were not merely agrarian reformers and they were not interested in an alliance with the Chinese Nationalists. Our attempt to unite the two was a grave mistake in foreign policy because it misjudged the dynamism of Communist world revolution. No State Department White Paper will ever cover up the fact that this was a losing policy.

Now the United States must decide whether or not to recognize the government of Communist China. Recognition, we are told, does not mean approval. Recognition will enable us to trade profitably. Recognition will help us to convert Mao to Titoism. And, so say the editors of the *Nation,* unless we hurry right along with recognition, then "By default we should be providing Moscow with an opportunity to grasp the leadership of the greatest social movement of modern times"—a truly brilliant suggestion, if, in the light of the facts, it weren't so appallingly stupid. Mr. Philip Jessup, speaking in the UN, has come out bravely for a hands-off China resolution; with remarkable, if floundering, wisdom, and in mincing words, Mr. Jessup now admits that the United States has reports which "create grave cause for concern that groundwork is in fact once again being laid for a further Russian attempt to dismember China."

WE BELIEVE that none of the advantages to be had in recognizing China is worth the cost of appeasement. The Chinese Communist movement is part of a centrally-directed plan of world domination; it is inspired by a foreign power and is an illegal violation of Chinese sovereignty. True, recognition does not mean approval; but the United States has used total or partial non-recognition to register disapproval in the past—we withheld recognition from Russia for 16 years and today we withhold an ambassador from Spain because, as Secretary Acheson himself proclaimed, this is our way of disapproving Franco's tyranny. These are honorable precedents.

Once before, right up to Pearl Harbor, we traded with and appeased aggressors, but that policy neither won them to democracy nor did it save us from war. Mao is not in a position to take to heresy—even if he had the mind to—since Russia hulks closer to him than to Tito.

The United States cannot avoid war this time,

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• NEXT WEEK •

Socialist Upton Sinclair started it when he included in his EPIC movement a promise of $50 a month to those economically dependent because of old age, physical incapacity or widowhood. Dr. Francis E. Townsend upped the offer to $200 a month for all over 60. Willis and Lawrence added the appealing twist of $30 every Thursday, or Ham and Eggs.

Harry W. Flannery brings the California story up to date in "Pension Paradise—Another Chapter."

either, by following a policy of moral and spiritual cowardice before what it knows to be an aggressive tyranny. If the best that American liberalism can do for the freedom of the Chinese people is to acquiesce before Communist aggression, then American liberalism is destitute. It is not necessary nor advisable for us to revive Chiang and the Kuomintang. But it *is* necessary not to give up in China until the Chinese people have won their personal, sovereign rights, free of foreign imperialism. It is necessary to take a strong diplomatic stand, every means short of war, in behalf of the ideals we represent, or else face the fact that we will have to fight in the eventual showdown that appeasement leads to.

In the Far East, International Communism is not yet at full flood. Somewhere it must be stopped. We believe that now is the time. Now we have the opportunity to forego trade profiteering and to oppose Russian imperialism by making a clean-cut issue over recognition. Half-measures—sheepish hands-off resolutions at a time when foreign aggression in China is already a fact—have not the courage necessary to win the freedoms we want for China. Such measures are disgraceful and hypocritical admission of moral softness. For these reasons, we believe that the United States should not recognize Communist China.

A Goal for Pensions

NO DOUBT the magic of round numbers has a lot to do with the universal assumption by labor leaders that $100 a month is the present minimum objective for old age pensions the country over. How far this goal is currently from realization is indicated on one level in New York State, where only 60 percent of those over 65, and eligible to retire, now draw down federal pensions, and they average $26.15 per month.

Even in the auto and steel industries, when the newly won hundred-dollar pensions go into operation, there will be many older workers not eligible for the full amount. The requirement of 25 to 30 years employment with a firm materially limits the number. The number is further reduced by whatever stipulations each contract makes as to the wage rates on which full pensions are to be based; in some cases the basis is a man's average wage for the whole period of his employment, in others, his average wage his last ten years. So that if $3,000 a year and more is the wage on which the full $100 is paid, many workers can not qualify.

In other words vast sums will be required to bring company and government pensions, singly or in combination, to the magic figure for all Americans over 65. Senator Taft has calculated the total cost of $100 a month pensions for every-

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one in this age bracket as $12,000,000,000.

Where industry itself contributes the bulk of the sum needed, smaller firms find themselves at a great competitive disadvantage. Moreover, if pensions are non-contributory — as they are in many instances—their cost is passed on to the public in the form of higher prices. But if the workers themselves contribute a share to their own security the inflationary effect is less marked.

If, because of the charges they would make on the products of industry and the inability of smaller companies to provide pensions on the same scale as their more powerful rivals, the bulk of the pension benefit payments is transferred to the government, the problem of the source of the funds required becomes even more acute. Higher taxes provide the only possible answer. Taxes and more taxes. When the self-employed, farm labor and other groups not now covered by social security are added, that becomes clear.

In ideal circumstances, every citizen would provide for his own old age through insurance, outright savings or company pensions rewarding his services; and, when necessary, families would provide for their own. The American business cycle, irresponsible ownership and control, plus a dozen other factors, rule this out. A combination of personal, business and government contributions is the only practical approach.

Once this is faced—and it is agreed there must be adequate provision against destitute old age—the issue turns on the proportion of social security each of the three sources shall contribute. Giving the job primarily to state and federal governments would eliminate a lot of complications. Obviously things are drifting in that direction. But to have a substantial proportion of the nation's breadwinners steadily contributing the wherewithal for their own and their families' security—in contrast to leaving it all to the state—is well worth a few complications. Accordingly a need at the moment, before a universal statist pattern of "security" is adopted, is a tireless search for institutional ways and means whereby men of every station can provide for their own future.

Patron of Pilgrims

DURING these last weeks of 1949, the nation's mail bags are heavy with slick four-color brochures from the travel agencies. Most of them read like the following lush samples of breathless prose: "Your Holy Year pilgrimage by air will be the thrill of your life! And your flight to Europe takes merely a day—a day of pleasant hours spent in a reclining chair, with books and magazines and delicious meals all brought you free of charge by your hostess . . . Time passes quickly as your high-flying skyliner wings its way at five miles a minute speed. Soon your giant plane glides down at your destination, less than 24 hours since you left the USA—and you are in Europe, a modern pilgrim, with all the wondrous shrines and ecclesiastical splendors of the old world before you. . . ."

It seems, during these last weeks of 1949, like a good time to say something about the last of the great pilgrims, Saint Benedict Joseph Labré —*le plus pouilleux des saints,* the French call him—who ate the scraps of the Roman poor and slept at night with his head propped against a pillar in the Coliseum.

Saint Benedict Joseph (1748-1783) was a layman who all his life wanted to be a monk. Four times he was admitted to Trappist and Carthusian novitiates, and each time he was sent away by superiors who judged that he had no monastic vocation. For years he walked back and forth across Western Europe, from shrine to shrine, from monastery to monastery—a strange silent man ever looking for light. His special vocation, it seems now, was to be in perpetual search of a vocation. Literally a Pilgrim of the Absolute, he never seemed to realize that in seeking he had found. That would have spoiled the paradox.

He died a penniless vagabond among poor men like himself in a Roman charity hospital, seemingly a colossal failure. But the morning of his death, there was a great commotion among the poor Italians who lived in the vicinity of the Coliseum. *"Il santo . . . E morte il santo!"* they shouted to one another.

In time the little French hobo was raised to the altars. In 1950, Holy Year pilgrims will find his picture in many of the continental churches they visit. Often under the picture, they will read something like this: Saint Benedict Joseph Labré, who often heard Mass in this church as he was passing through town on his way to (such and such) shrine. *Pray for us.*

It is easy to visualize the saint there—a homeless, lonely pilgrim, probably lousy with lice, kneeling in the shadows, a stranger, an outsider in every parish: the wandering frockless monk no monastery wanted. The facts form quite a different image from that of the simpering scoutmaster on the wall, with his eyes cast toward heaven and his beard trim as a professor's.

If THE COMMONWEAL had a staff cartoonist we would at this point ask him to draw a realistic picture of the hobo saint, Benedict Joseph Labré, patron of pilgrims; and we would ask that he portray him being interviewed, say, in one of those plush, air-conditioned offices the airlines operate, or perhaps to show him thumbing quizzically through a Holy Year travel brochure. One picture, so the saying goes, is worth a thousand words.

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Land Reform in Italy

PRIME MINISTER Alcide de Gasperi said November 20, "Woe unto landowners if they do not understand that the moment has come for them to subordinate their interests to the social function of property," and his government is to put into law, "at the earliest possible moment," an agrarian reform that will distribute among the impoverished and proletarianized Italian peasants one hundred thousand acres of fallow or semi-fallow land. Additional land will be taken from those who own more than 750 acres; the government will spend fifty million dollars for land reclamation and improvement.

"The moment has come," and the present Italian government has taken a serious step to deal with the problem of one third of the privately held land in Italy, owned by less than one half of one percent of the population. Of those who own the land, less than half own more than one and a quarter acres. Those who have larger estates often allow them to go unworked and rarely will sell.

In the election campaign of 1948 Prime Minister de Gasperi firmly promised land reform. Now, little tangible progress having been made, the peasants of Calabria, Apulia, Sicily and some of the rural areas in northern Italy are violently seizing land, and several have been killed or wounded.

The Communists have taken leadership in the uprisings and are delighted to be in their favorite—and most dangerous and effective—rôle as champions of the poor against what they can call a faithless government.

There are tremendous difficulties (ones which peasants do not understand, and which politicians would rather not face) involved in a land reform that is to be just. Signor de Gasperi and his government have spent a year with these difficulties, and now, the patience, the centuries of patience of the Italian peasant expended, they have understood that "the moment has come."

David Lilienthal

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL is a man who has given a great deal to the United States government. He has made the personal sacrifice exacted by those who have persistently attacked his work and himself, and he has made the financial sacrifice our public servants must make.

The years he has spent as an executive of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission, and his part in forming the American plan for international atomic control are obviously important; but perhaps greater importance lies in the direction he has given these enterprises. Particularly in his administration of the TVA he has given a federal undertaking unique local orientation and concern for the social problems of the people with whom it deals.

In resigning he makes it possible for a new chairman to remake the working policies of the AEC under the changed circumstances of Russian atomic accomplishment, and international control failure. His departure makes closer cooperation between the AEC and Congress possible.

Mr. Lilienthal says in his letter, "Although this resignation does bring my work as a public servant to a close, it does not mean that I do not intend to continue to be active in public affairs, for this is the first responsibility of all citizens in a democracy," and if more citizens fulfilled that responsibility as remarkably as David Lilienthal has done, Mr. Truman would not face the problem he does in selecting a successor.

At the Free World Labor Conference

THAT differences, controversy and "politics" are marks of a non-totalitarian world was amply demonstrated right at the opening in London of the world conference of non-Communist trade unions. The issue was the admission of Catholic trade unions from various European countries.

The fact that so far the national union centers of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Luxembourg and Switzerland had been able to block invitations to their respective Catholic unions means that a million and a half union members were not represented. Happily our own AFL and CIO delegates and others were strongly opposed to such disbarment, which is Socialist-inspired.

This contest indicates a sharp dissimilarity between European and American labor organizations. We do not have confessional labor unions, nor is there any effort to establish them. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists itself seeks to bring Christian social ideals into the industrial relations arena through individual members of AFL, CIO, Brotherhoods or other non-sectarian professional groups. It seeks to educate the rank-and-file in social principles and union techniques and to develop leaders.

On the Continent, however, unions are more politically minded. Socialists dominate the general unions which the Communists do not control. They bitterly oppose Catholic unions on such national issues as the school question. As doctrinaire Marxists, many Socialists have been manifestly anti-Catholic and anti-religious. That is why Catholics in France and in the other countries mentioned have established their own unions wherever feasible.

Now that the Walter Reuther formula for including these European Catholic unions has been accepted by the credentials committee of the conference, the roster of non-Communist unions appears complete.

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The Australian Elections

Laborites, Liberals, Catholics and other groups face the issue: socialism vs. free enterprise

James G. Murtagh

ON DECEMBER 10, Australians will elect the 19th Parliament of the Commonwealth. The occasion is of unusual historical interest, first, because it marks the first half century of Australia as a united nation; second, because the new Parliament will be double the size of its predecessors; third, because the election is being fought, for the first time in forty years, on a broad ideological basis—"socialism" versus "free enterprise."

In the short space of fifty years, Australia has reached full nationhood, an equal partner in the British Commonwealth and a leader of the small powers in the United Nations. Its economy is rapidly expanding and becoming more diversified; as a result of post-war immigration, which rivals the gold-rushes of the nineteenth century, the population has topped 8,000,000 people. On January 1, 1950, the fiftieth year of the founding of the Commonwealth will be celebrated, and on May 9, 1950, the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the first Federal Parliament.

But the nation has long since outgrown the political machinery which the colonial founding fathers devised in the nineties. Even the Federal Constitution, which was written partly under the influence of the American Constitution, is urgently in need of reform. A first step in reform of the country's political institutions will be new and enlarged assemblies—House of Representatives, increased from 75 to 123 members, with voting, as usual, preferential, and the Senate, increased from 36 to 60, with voting according to proportional representation (an innovation). The "old-time" parliaments, therefore, have passed into history and the new will be symbols of a political coming-of-age. Colonial Australia is gone.

Australian political life is organized on a distinctly class basis, and elections are virtually a clear-cut contest between Labor and Capital, represented by the Australian Labor Party, a highly organized and disciplined body, founded on the trade unions, and the Liberal-Country Party, an uneasy coalition, representing city and country capital. A few Independent candidates, who are usually elected, do not affect the issue, while Communist candidates consistently lose their deposits. No Communist has ever been elected to Federal Parliament.

Both Labor and Liberal parties are practical and empirical in traditional English fashion, both reject capitalism, as Americans know it, both are committed to the "Welfare State," competing with each other for popular support by fostering social services. Indeed, between them there is in practice only a time-lag, for both are fundamentally liberal in social philosophy. Hence, Labor leaders not infrequently evolve into conservatives with the mellowing of the years, while conservatives implement essentially Labor policies and support economic controls which would make a classical capitalist turn in his grave.

*

FOR THE first time since 1905, the present election is being fought on the issue of socialism, at least by the Liberals and the press, which is almost universally opposed to the Labor Party. Labor, which has governed the country for the past eight years, made a forward move at the war's end to implement some of its "socialization" objectives in the matter of airlines, medical service and especially banking. But it ran head-on into the Commonwealth Constitution. In every case, legislation was declared wholly or partly *ultra vires* by the High Court of Australia. When the Labor Government found itself constitutionally forbidden to nationalize the airways, it promptly established its own airline, T.A.A. (Trans-Australia Airlines) to compete with A.N.A. (Australian National Airways), the pioneer airline, which is closely interlocked with the great shipping interests. The paradox of the situation was that A.N.A. had just about swallowed all its rivals and established a monopoly, when T.A.A., a socialized airline, took to the skies—to introduce vigorous competition!

But the question which has engaged the nation in bitter debate for the past four years and pushed socialism into the forefront of the present election campaign is the Labor Party's policy on banking. The A.L.P. is unequivocally committed to the nationalization of credit and banking, as being a public utility. In 1945, the

Rev. James G. Murtagh is associate editor of the Melbourne Advocate *and author of* Australia: The Catholic Chapter *and* Democracy in Australia. *He recently made an extensive study of Catholic social movements in the U. S.*

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Labor Government began its offensive with legislation which gave the nationally-owned Commonwealth Bank control over credit and loan policy, interest rates, overseas exchange and the general direction of investment in the community and provided a legal framework, uniform throughout Australia, for controlling and regulating the operations of private trading banks.

★

THE act was successfully challenged on a minor point in the High Court by banking interests. Whereupon, the Prime Minister (Mr. Chifley) announced like a bolt from the blue that his government would take over the private banks of the country, lock, stock and barrel, paying compensation to the stockholders. The statement caused a sensation and the country was swept with a wave of press-inspired hysteria. In the face of a hostile public opinion, the Government passed a Bank Nationalization Act in 1947. But this, too, was successfully challenged in the High Court, whereupon the Government took the unexpected step of appealing to the Privy Council in England. The Council this year upheld the verdict of the High Court. The Privy Council found that:

> The business of banking is included among those activities described as trade, commerce and intercourse in Section 92 of the Constitution.
>
> The Commonwealth's attempt to prohibit the conduct of private banking was a direct restraint of trade, commerce and intercourse and therefore an infringement of Section 92 of the Constitution.
>
> The powers of the Commonwealth Government to impose regulations and controls over private banking are intact and can be exercised.

The 1945 legislation, giving government control of banking policy, still operates and seems to have been strengthened by the Privy Council's verdict. But the Labor Party can go no further towards nationalizing the banks, unless it first carries a referendum to the people to amend the Constitution. Public opinion, however, is hostile to complete destruction of private banks and the setting up of a Government banking monopoly. But the vast interests, linked with private banking—insurance companies, heavy industry, shipping, the press—are still sleeping uncomfortably in their beds and their political representatives—the Liberals—are making the socialization of banking a major issue of the elections.

The question of Labor's socialization program has also engaged the attention of thinking Catholics, since the Catholic vote forms an important section of Labor support, and many members of the retiring Labor government are Catholics, including half a dozen Cabinet Ministers, notably the Prime Minister (Mr. Chifley), the Minister for Immigration (Mr. Calwell) and the Minister for Health (Senator McKenna).

At the Brisbane Conference of the Australian Labor Party in 1921, the objective of the party was formulated as: "The socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange." What does it mean? There is a strong tradition that it does not mean total socialism. At the same conference, there was a motion moved which stated:

1. That the Australian Labor Party proposes collective ownership for the purpose of preventing exploitation, and to whatever extent may be necessary for that purpose.
2. That wherever private ownership is a means of exploitation it is opposed by the party, but—
3. That the party does not seek to abolish private ownership even of any of the instruments of production, where such instrument is utilized by its owner in a socially useful manner and without exploitation.

This declaration, which is known today as the "Blackburn Interpretation," has been the subject of keen research and debate, especially among Catholics, during the past year. Special impetus has been given to the controversy by the "Social Justice Sunday" statement on "Socialization," published last year with the authority of the Australian Bishops. In the light of the minutes of the Brisbane Conference and its complicated rules of procedure, it is still being argued, pro and con, whether the Blackburn Interpretation really applies. Certainly, it has never been published in the Labor Party's official published program.

The controversy even involved a clash in the Catholic press between a Catholic Cabinet Minister, Mr. Calwell (who said that it does apply) and a Catholic theologian and radio speaker, Rev. Dr. Rumble, M.S.C. (who said it doesn't). At all events, such has been the publicity given to the controversy throughout the nation that early in October the Federal Executive of the Australian Labor Party, after a meeting in Canberra, announced that the Blackburn Interpretation of the socialization objective "still stands" and that there has been no change in Labor policy. But Catholic conservatives argue that this pronouncement must still be ratified by the next triennial conference of the Labor Party to be permanently binding and, even if it is, it does not even then meet the strict requirements of Catholic social doctrine.

On October 16, Archbishop Mannix, of Melbourne, whose voice is a power in the land, inter-

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vened in the debate by announcing that Catholics could dismiss their scruples and were free to vote either for the Liberal or the Labor Party and that there is no conflict in principle between Labor policy and the Bishops' statement on socialization.

> "Some twelve months ago," said Dr. Mannix, "I said that if the Blackburn Interpretation really expressed the policy of the Labor Party, there is no conflict in principle between the statement of the Australian Bishops and the policy of the Labor Party. I am glad to see that in recent times we had statements from the Labor Party . . . stating that the Blackburn Interpretation of the Labor policy is and has been the policy of the Labor Party . . . I see no reason to change the statement I made twelve months ago. The Labor Party says it wants to nationalize such public utilities as cannot safely be left in the hands of private individuals. I think this is a perfectly right and a consistent attitude to take, though, of course, there may well be wide differences of opinion when we come to determine what and how many public utilities there are which cannot, or should not, be left in private hands."

★

MEANWHILE, the election campaign, which is moving to its climax, has been singularly dull and uninspiring. Americans would find Australian campaigning methods rather primitive and unspectacular. There is scarcely any organized entertainment or showmanship, no band-playing or baby-kissing, no burlesque or ballyhoo and, of course, as yet no television. The business officially opened a month before the election, with its customary formality of policy speeches broadcast by the respective party leaders, Mr. Menzies, (Liberal), and Mr. Chifley, (Labor). Then followed a sudden outburst of oratory in every electorate of the Commonwealth from the 500 candidates contesting seats. As the tempo rose, the campaign brought to mind the words of H. L. Mencken that democratic politics is "the trade of playing upon the democracy's natural poltroonery —of scaring it half to death and then proposing to save it . . ." The Liberal scare is the menace of socialism, the Labor scare the spectre of depression and unemployment.

It has been observed that in Australia governments lose elections, not by their opponents' virtues, but by their own faults. Australians are notoriously cynical, suspicious and sceptical of politics and politicians' promises and they have little or no interest in political theories or principles. If a government becomes unduly unpopular, they throw it out, "to give the other fellow a go." In brief, they do not put governments in, they put governments out.

Joseph Benedict Chifley, the Labor leader, who is sixty-four and something of a homespun philosopher, understands the Australian mind, especially the mind of the working class, for he rose quietly from the position of engine-driver and trade unionist to be perhaps Australia's greatest Labor Prime Minister. He has often stated that he did not seek the job and does not want it now. A man of simple tastes and few words, he has shown strength, statesmanship, and a certain evangelical impulse in his leadership. (He has read the Bible ten times). Although "Rerum Novarum" inspired him as a young man, he is not so familiar with "Quadragesimo Anno".

In his policy speech—the shortest and most colorless in the nation's history (37 minutes)—he made no promises, dismissed the cry of socialism as utterly untrue and let his record speak. On the whole, it is an impressive record of full employment, expanded private industry, extended social services, balanced budgets and financial stability, remarkable immigration progress and vast developmental works, including an "Australian T.V.A."—the Snowey Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority.

To all this the Liberal leader, Robert Menzies, countered, citing the increasing burden of taxation, the growth of government bureaucracy, the crippling of initiative and enterprise, toleration of the Communist Party (which the Liberals would ban) and in general the menacing drift to the "Socialist State." These charges, however, even granting their considerable elements of truth, carry little weight with the masses of the Australian people and are certainly not enough to cause a sweeping change of government.

Australian Public Opinion Polls (Gallup) have consistently estimated a very close vote, with the winning party returning with a narrow margin of seats. This means that the "floating vote," which swings uncertainly in Australian elections, will be decisive. The "floating vote" consists, not only of the politically ignorant, confused and indifferent (voting in Australia is compulsory), but of "a new middle class" of administrators, managers, technicians, scientists and officials, whose interests and social status in the community are no longer adequately represented either by Labor or Liberal. This new phenomenon, which Marx did not foresee but which James Burnham, the author of *The Managerial Revolution,* has seen, is a growing influence in Australia's "floating vote," which Dr. Mannix has called "the safety valve of democracy."

To this unpredictable element must be added the possible surprises that may emerge as a result of the redrawing of electoral boundaries and the redistribution and multiplication of seats for the new double-sized Parliament. Although all the signs point to a close finish, this observer will be surprised if the Labor Party is not returned to power, even though it may lose some of its former overwhelming majority.

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Communications

Health Insurance

Chicago, Illinois.

TO THE Editors: On several occasions I have enjoyed John C. Cort's articles on labor, but the Health Insurance discussion of Nov. 11 seemed to me to present a very unfair picture of the Child Labor Amendment controversy of the '40's. Not only *America,* as he says, but many of the sociology and economics departments of our Catholic colleges were busy saying that, much as we needed a good federal child labor law or amendment, we could not afford to give our Congress the complete control over every person up to eighteen years that the particular amendment of 1924 offered.

Mr. Cort states that *America* opposed the amendment "on the ground that it might be abused to require Catholic children to attend public schools—exactly how was never made clear." No less than a dozen of their articles and editorials made it abundantly clear to me. For instance, Rev. Paul L. Blakely, S.J., in his "The Alleged Child Labor Amendment" of March 10, 1934, *America,* wrote that the amendment made not a single reference to *child* labor, and didn't distinguish between the forms child labor may take. It "authorized Congress to prohibit any and all labor, at any time and in any place, by any person under eighteen years of age. No distinction was made between labor that is gainful and labor that is not, between labor in the home or in the mine, on the farm or in a sweat shop . . . it included seasonal, part-time, full-time; in factory, on farm, and in the home." Furthermore, all suggestions to limit the scope of the amendment in any way were rejected by Congress. It gave Congress undeniable, complete power without limitation over these persons. Naturally, we never know what a future Congress will do if it has the power . . .

Mr. Cort may have forgotten, too, that the Child Labor Amendment was, in the eyes of thousands of Catholic and other educators, a very definite attempt on the part of some to obtain federal control of all education. That was not any part of the intent or purpose of many of its well-meaning adherents, but it was the chief aim of other groups who even admitted it in print. The introduction to *Child Labor and the Constitution* by R. G. Fuller, published in 1923, stated plainly that the amendment was the easiest and quickest way for the federal government to get control of all schools and thus afford "the best sort of protection of the child against injurious labor."

Of course we are all relieved that in 1938 we got the Minimum Wage & Hour Law explicitly forbidding "oppressive Child Labor." That is precisely what the foes of the particular Child Labor Amendment of 1924 were seeking—a law that would prevent the abuses, but with the necessary qualifications and restrictions to prevent government from snooping into our homes and schools with only the sky for a limit.

Apparently Mr. Cort finds a situation confusing and inconsistent in which a prelate or a Catholic organization has for years been clamoring for national compulsory health insurance and then rejects the two or three bills we have recently been offered. It is precisely like the Child Labor situation—much as we may need and want such legislation, we must hold out for a form that will leave our Catholic hospitals reasonably free to enforce Catholic ethics in surgery, etc. Laws are far more easily passed than repealed. A minority group with fundamental principles at stake cannot afford to embrace death even to cure serious evils. A way can be found, but it must be worked out patiently. As Bishop Alter says in the document which Mr. Cort finds so discouraging, "There is not controversy or disagreement concerning the advisability or advantage of a prepayment plan to meet cost of medical care. Acceptance of such plans is unanimous . . ." It is a question only, he says, whether it should be an exclusive state monopoly or a cooperating partnership between government and the voluntary agencies.

Far more might be said on this subject if space permitted, but my only question is whether one can reasonably be held inconsistent who favors a *type* of legislation and rejects a specific *law* of that type because he is alert enough to see the "bugs" in its machinery. A woman always favors a new frock, but if she rejects the proffered two or three because their cut or color render them ridiculous on her, such a woman is not inconsistent but discerning and sensible.

EVELYN DORSEY O'GARA.

Life in California

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I have been looking for a good excuse to write to you and tell you that for me, THE COMMONWEAL is the best magazine published—bar none! —and after reading John A. Lynch's article on California, I now have that opportunity. I did *not* like his article.

No doubt, all of Mr. Lynch's arguments (unemployment, men serving Mammon, kids looking for glamor, etc.) are true. But why pick on California? Where aren't they true today? Skid Row counterbalancing Cadillacs is not exclusive to Los Angeles. Neither is the fact that "wide-eyed children who loiter at the gates of Hollywood are more interested in glamor." That's true concerning any city that has either children or glamor or both.

As for the "poor man, ignorant, innocent, unwary, lost in the shuffle, trampled underfoot," where is he *not* so treated, Mr. Lynch?

As a matter of fact, Mr. Lynch argues *for* California despite his tirade (which, for me, shows that the merits of the State are so great they come forth even under the weight of criticism) when he points out that "Every day of the year an average of better than 700 people cross the border to make California their home." And later, he says "few people are moving away from California." Must have *something* for that kind of record. I personally know of no one, relative or friend, who ever went to California and didn't rave about it.

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My cousin, raised in an overcrowded and poor section of Brooklyn, had the good fortune to marry a girl from California and now his is a healthful and outdoor life with a growing family being reared in sunshine and fresh air, with a modest home in San Fernando and he has *an excellent job*. He admits that he would never have done as well in New York and when a visitor asked him if he had any word for the folks back home, he beamed happily and said: "Yes. Tell 'em, I'm never coming back." Two aunts went out to visit him. They returned from California only long enough to sell the old brownstone house in Park Slope, Brooklyn, and head west again. Wild horses couldn't budge them back East.

Over one-half of my relatives from Brooklyn have migrated to California and are positively thriving. The other half, including myself, (I spent my terminal leave in California back in 1945 and haven't been the same since) are anxiously planning and awaiting the happy day of exodus. None of us, believe me, is rich, "looking for a new Bohemia," or interested in joining "The Cult of Anarchy and Sex." We just want to live in a place that God has blessed with beauty and a happy climate.

As for Chamber of Commerce propaganda, it's the same everywhere, Mr. Lynch. For example, I passed last winter in Denver, Colorado. One of the things I didn't like about that town was the subzero temperatures (seven straight days when the thermometer remained below zero—even at high noon with the sun shining). When I complained, I was told: "But it's a different kind of cold. You don't feel it here like you do in the East, even though the temperature in the East may be twenty or thirty degrees higher." Straight Chamber of Commerce stuff. Don't believe it. I was never so cold in my life.

Mr. Lynch wants to fight this admittedly tragic imbalance of human welfare in California—but from a distance. I disagree with that kind of fighting one-hundred percent. I say, instead of discouraging good Christians from going to California, we should urge such a migration so that the poor may not be abandoned to the pagan rich.

If there is "foul air," the solution is not in running away but by substituting clean air. And I don't see how the presence of a good soul in Los Angeles encourages all the terrible things that Mr. Lynch is concerned about in Southern California. *Monsieur Vincent* found out that you can't combat poverty by remote control.

WILLIAM O'TOOLE.

Conscientious Objection

New York, N. Y.

TO THE Editors: Your publication [THE COMMONWEAL, November 25] of the letter of Father Yves Congar, O.P., *conscientiously* objecting to *unconditional* conscientious objection to war, was a valuable beam of light directed on the dark enigma of virtuous violence. Fr. Congar summarized very clearly the common opinion of moralists on the duties of citizens toward a war effort of their nation.

Yet it is disquieting to reflect that this very opinion [that defensive war can be justified] contributed so much to reducing the world to a shambles twice in our own lifetime. The finest citizens on each side of both World Wars followed exactly the line of thought so ably expressed by Father Congar.

In October, 1939, Pope Pius XII wrote: "No defense of Christianity could be more effective than the present straits. From the immense vortex of error and anti-Christian movements there has come forth a crop of such poignant disasters as to constitute a condemnation surpassing in its conclusiveness any merely theoretical refutation" (Summi Pontificatus). How can there be excluded, from the vortex of error, principles which led Catholics on both sides of two World Wars to butcher the Mystical Body of Christ as a civic *duty?* If it be permitted to apply the Savior's own test to such moral principles, "By their fruits you shall know them . . . A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit . . . Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be cut down, and shall be cast into the fire" (Matthew VII).

If unconditional C.O.'s are the only axe men *now* ready to cut down the tree which has produced so much evil fruit, more power to them.

(REV.) MICHAEL J. DEACY.

The Stage

Double Strindberg

PERHAPS IT is simplest to say that "Creditors" is a more interesting play than "The Father" and this will be the reason why a star Broadway production of the latter play fades miserably before a Greenwich Village version of the former. But this would be merely a partial judgment. The truth is that On-Stage's offering of "Creditors" seems to me neither more nor less than superb on every score, and it is providing the very best possible proof of the stupidities of the Broadway system. I cannot too urgently suggest that nobody miss it.

On the Broadway level, Raymond Massey and Mady Christians are struggling with the longer three-act arrangement of Strindberg's particular brand of suspicious misogyny, and I suppose it is correct to admit that they are doing all right. I don't think they anyway rival the Provincetown's production of the play, done this past summer and fairly closely analyzed in this column. The trick is, the amount of ill-logic, fake science, and nonsense contained in "The Father" is not startling enough to keep the piece in the foreground of attention.

And technically, it has small invention. All its experiment is inward, or let's say, ideological. Written at a time when the naturalistic attack was the greatest ex-

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periment of all, it has very little point at present and ought to be preserved only in repertory or in the study. It does, however, like all of Strindberg, present enormous opportunities to actors and I wish I could say that the month of rehearsal-period afforded by Broadway has enabled this particular cast to do its utmost. But I do not think it has. The most precisely cast character is the Wife in the hands of Miss Christians, who does manage the synthetic Strindbergian Medusa with some ease. But Mr. Massey so obviously relies upon frailty and breeding to portray his Captain, and his direction of the piece at large is so moderate, that one finds there is no matching intensity to stimulate Miss Christians to the height of which she is capable. Mary Morris is also part of the proceedings in the rôle of the Old Nurse, but I cannot think this to be any special inducement. On the whole, the Krakeur-Joseph offering can only be called a very dull deal indeed.

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OPPOSING this, one can luckily hurl on to the nearest subway and spend exactly one hour and a half indulging the master's childishness and marveling at his craft at the Cherry Lane. I think perhaps the most useful lesson "Creditors" has to offer to modern playwrights is its length. It is a miracle of climax. There is no let-up, there is no intermission. I am indebted to Eric Bentley for an astonishing quote wherein Strindberg gives us his own idea of his scheme: "Creditors," he said sometime in the 90's of the last century, "is a really modern piece, human, amiable, with three sympathetic characters, interesting from one end to the other."

Now as Mr. Bentley carefully observes, our ideas of amiability will most certainly differ from Strindberg's. And I will add, our ideas of humanity, too. But no one, I think, will ever deny the *interest* of the three terrible characters at work in this play. As sly, shrewd, expedient, and bad—as wholly foetid as they really are—they are still interesting, and they are written at the top of their interest. They are essentially written, it is possible to say. And here, under Robert Ramsey's management, and Frank Corsaro's direction, they are surely essentially played. I don't know whether to praise Beatrice Arthur's devious Wife, DeWitt Drury's makeshift Husband, George Hill's demoniac First Husband, first. It seems to me there is no division in the company and that all must be put down under a general heading of excellence.

It is important, too, to note that Mr. Corsaro has got these people trained into immobility as well as every variey of leaping action. It is a superlative job, and one I wish every incipient playwright could see. What is as important is that ordinary spectators will be able to attend and to spectate, *and* to speculate, according to their ability. For I am firmly convinced that in organizations such as this one, and intelligences such as those of this management, and in talents such as are evidenced by this cast, exists the only possible American theatre. (*At the Cort for "The Father"; at the Cherry Lane for "Creditors"*) KAPPO PHELAN.

The Screen

Is This Where You Came In?

ALTHOUGH Hollywood makes films about a great variety of subjects and even gets quite serious about social themes, the studios still consider love the most important material for movies. Perhaps they're right. So let's give a quick look at some of the new arrivals, pictures that really have a boy-meets-girl theme, no matter how their makers disguise the formula.

Holiday Affair: tells us about a very pretty widow (Janet Leigh) who is still too attached to her dead husband, but decides to marry a very nice lawyer-fellow (Wendell Corey) for reasons of security as well as to give her young son a father. Into her life comes a sexy-looking vagrant (Robert Mitchum) who acts like a psychiatrist and tells her a lot of things she doesn't want to hear—about her veneration of her dead husband, and about life being full of surprises both good and bad, and about living for the present without fear of the future. I don't need to tell you which of these men Janet winds up with. Producer-director Don Hartman has handled his story and cast so well that the film's arguments almost seem sound. However, people with their feet on the ground will root for Wendell, whose attractions will still be attractive next year.

Bride For Sale: shows how Claudette Colbert goes about winning a husband and picking a guy with plenty of dough by working for an income tax firm. Her boss (George Brent) tries to cure her of this base design by planting Robert Young as a customer with millions. Since this supposed comedy has a pretty far-fetched idea to start with, it is hard for us to take it seriously; and even as comedy it winds up much too talky.

Dancing in the Dark: uses the romance between Betsy Drake and Mark Stevens as a minor issue in getting Betsy started on a movie career in Hollywood. Betsy really loves Mark, but has to prove she's a success as an actress. The man who finally gets her into films is an aging ex-star (William Powell satirizing all of moviedom's great hams) who turns out to be the cad who deserted Betsy's mother just before Betsy was born. This melodramatic junk is decorated with several song-and-dance numbers supposedly based on "The Bandwagon," an outstanding musical revue from the dear dead past. The resemblance, I'm afraid, is only coincidental.

The Great Lover: makes no pretenses other than being funny with Bob Hope in the title rôle. Some of the jokes, as Bob goes about trying to win Rhonda Fleming, posing as a duchess, are very amusing; and some fall a little flat. Most of the fun stems from the main situation: Bob as a Boy Forester leader guiding his charges on a luxury liner during a voyage back to America. Hope fans will no doubt roar with glee; other moviegoers may wish for a little more material.

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Always Leave Them Laughing: is also designed around the talents of one star, and admirers of Milton Berle will love every minute of this picture—because he's in practically every one of its 116 minutes. The story itself is interesting enough as it traces the rise of a comedian from very small beginnings in a second-rate hotel show to the heights of stardom in television; but somehow you have to believe that starring in television is worth all this hard work. Ruth Roman and Bert Lahr are excellent in the supporting cast, and the picture's best scene shows Lahr teaching Berle that a great comedian has to have a heart. Before Berle really learns this lesson he does a great many songs, dances, skits and good and bad muggings. Not till the finale does girl get boy. You admire Miss Roman's patience and wonder if love really does conquer all, or if it's worth it.

Oh You Beautiful Doll: pretends to tell the story of Fred Fisher, the song writer who gave us "Peg O' My Heart," "Come Josephine in My Flying Machine" and other hits, but it is more concerned with the romance between his daughter (June Haver) and a young song plugger (Mark Stevens) who puts over Fred's stuff very well. Actually S. Z. Sakall as Fisher and Charlotte Greenwood as his wife steal the show from the younger generation, but it is one of those flamboyant Technicolor musical biographies that Hollywood repetition has staled. Fred Fisher's songs will survive it.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Of Note

German Catholicism

THE latest *Blackfriars* (St. Giles, Oxford, England) is given over to an analysis of Catholicism in contemporary Germany. The main article is a translation of a piece by Otto B. Roegele which originally appeared in *Orbis Catholicus*. The author gives an extensive report on German Catholicism, concluding with this:

> The Church is suffering from the general crisis of the times, from the perpetual shifting of German affairs, and from the arbitrary changes in zonal and provincial boundaries. In the Russian zone it faces even severer hardships because there the authorities hate religion. It suffers from uncertainty and anxiety for the future, but it suffers most of all because its members are so weak, so many of its leaders are devoid of imagination and because it throws off a continuous smoke-screen of illusion so as not to have to face up to realities. The bourgeoisie, from whose ranks most of the faithful come, has changed into a proletariat; it is exhausted, disorientated and unable to cope with its responsibilities; it is devoid of both political vitality, fertile ideas and trustworthy leaders. The working classes to a depressingly large extent hold aloof from the Church. Throughout Germany a type of conventional Marxism influences quite a large proportion of the people. A few intellectuals have undergone genuine conversions and found their way back into the Church which they have frequently infused with some of their own energies; but most intellectuals still adhere to liberalist doctrines (such as the leading scholars have abandoned) and are in practice banal materialists. The country folk display a terrifying lack of solid religion and practical Christianity. Taken in conjunction with their refugee neighbors, these country folk present the most trying spiritual problem of the day. . . .
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> It must be confessed with shame that official German Catholicism's reaction to these trials has been to a large extent pathological. Instead of trying to answer the extraordinary demands of the territorial diaspora by an exchange of priests and by other means which would have equalized the strain in different parts of the Church the dioceses have hermetically sealed themselves up. . . . [In the education of priests] all efforts have been directed towards rebuilding a ghetto, and the wonderful opportunity scarcely seems to have been noticed. . . .
>
> Those priests and theological students who might have reasonably expected to find themselves particularly trusted on account of having tested their convictions in the stress of war service have been treated almost as objects of suspicion. . . .
>
> Instead of taking to heart their experiences under a totalitarian state and erecting institutions and organizations as remote as possible from direct state interferences, most people have clamored even louder for those very privileges which depend upon the benevolence of the secular state. Frequently it seems almost as if people were hoping to use the Christian parties' majority in order to put forward claims dating from as distant a time as 150 years and to squeeze from a bankrupt state the interest which has collected in the meantime.
>
> Instead of encouraging lay movements (both outside and within Catholic Action) in order to compensate for the lack of priests, most of the attempts at independent lay action have been treated with the utmost caution. The clergy have never missed an opportunity to demonstrate their authority—even upon issues where this authority just does not apply. Here again there are exceptions.
>
> Instead of learning from experience under a totalitarian state and recognizing the family as the ultimate and most secure stronghold of belief, morality and Christian education; instead of invoking all its massive collective energy to elaborate every possible means fulfilling the task that God has laid upon it; instead of taking every advantage of the truly epoch-making opportunity given to the German Catholics now that they are members of a missionary church, every effort has been made to restore the status quo without considering that what once upon a time produced good results can be just as harmful in a society which in the meantime has been turned inside out. . . .

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Catholic International News

International Christian Social Association

THE International Christian Social Association (AISC) held its fourth general conference at Brussels on the 15th of October, 1949. Founded in 1948 at Saint-Gall, Switzerland, the association has for its end the development and propagation of a social order based on the teachings and precepts of the Church. It describes itself as existing in order to "bring about a new Christian humanism." The Association has no intention, it says, of offering a social blue-print; rather it describes its object as an attempt "to reform man and by him the existing social order."

The President of the Association recently outlined the four-point program which AISC has adopted.

1. The foundation and propagation of an economic, social and political order in keeping with the principles and doctrines of Christianity.

2. The restoring of freedom of action to the Church in all those fields for which the Church has concern, as well as within the institutions and associations which must be reclaimed for Christian principles.

3. The effective collaboration between peoples for a true peace.

4. The reconstruction of Europe—materially, socially, spiritually, morally and culturally.

An outstanding address during the Brussels meeting was given by Joseph Jocs, French delegate to the International Union of Social Studies. He spoke on "deproletarianizing the world."

"The proletarian," M. Jocs told AISC delegates, "is a human being who lives from hand to mouth, from day to day, without any hope of bettering his position. He is a human being who does not seem to have any spiritual needs. He is a man for whom career, self-respect, the will to elevate oneself are empty words without meaning; a stranger to the noble concepts behind words like family, home, country and nation. Those who live this accursed life seem to have nothing to lose but their chains.

"Whether the proletarian is an industrial worker or a farmer, a man who has fallen from the middle classes or an intellectual, he has to go through life a being whose miserable existence has deprived him of faith or hope—a cynic. He becomes a man in the mass. It seems that this dehumanized, depersonalized mass is really the greatest danger because a society which cannot bring itself to suppress the proletarian condition suffers from instability, enough to bring about its own destruction.

"What are the remedies?" M. Jocs asked. "What means should be used to eliminate the characteristics of a proletarian existence, namely, insecurity, dependence, the absence of any meaning to life? Does integral socialism offer salvation?" M. Jocs thought not. "A general socialization," he said, "would make the wage-earner the slave of society."

"The problem of suppressing the proletarian condition," said the speaker, "will be the touchstone of the Christian program in our time. The solution will show us if Christianity in our day is vigorous enough to transform the world and to lead us into a new era founded on Christian humanism."

English Catholics and Christian Cooperation

CONSIDERABLE discussion has been stirred up by the article calling for cooperation between Catholics and non-Catholics which appeared in *The Times* of London, Oct. 31, under the title "Catholicism Today: Relations between Rome and the Christian World." *The Times* has printed many letters dealing with the article, and the Catholic papers have devoted much attention to it.

In general, the correspondence revealed fundamental agreement on the need for closer cooperation among Christians. At the same time it also showed that the relations between Catholics and non-Catholics in Great Britain are now on a friendlier basis than perhaps at any time since the anti-Catholic legislation of the 17th century.

Monsignor Ronald A. Knox, the well-known author and translator of the Bible, and a convert from the Anglican Church, made the *Times* article the burden of an address he delivered at the University of Edinburgh, November 13. Taking the article as "a kind of barometer, a straw which shows which way the wind blows," he declared: "The tone of it, and the tone of the correspondence which has followed it, can fairly be interpreted as showing a great improvement of temper all around . . . I don't think there is any doubt that within the last fifty years our tempers have improved on both sides—at least when we can manage to keep politics out of it. And we ought to credit the writer of the *Times* article with good intentions, with courtesy of speech and, behind that, with charity of approach."

The Rev. Aelred Graham, O.S.B., a theologian at Ampleforth Abbey, York, has gone even further. In a letter to *The Tablet,* Nov. 19, he argues that the suggestion advanced by the *Times'* writer for discussions between Catholics and non-Catholics might prove of real benefit: "Catholic theologians, who find it so hard to translate their largely unintelligible scholastic terminology into plain English might have something to learn in the way of persuasive expression from friendly contacts with Anglicans. Provided the overriding consideration were the discovery and accurate statement of revealed truth, and not any attempt to effect some working compromise, it is hard to see how such meetings could be productive of anything but good." (London 11/26 CIP.)

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Schweitzer, the Philosopher

Max Fischer

ALBERT SCHWEITZER is one of the most celebrated personalities of our time. As a Protestant theologian, as a musician and an interpreter of Bach, as a missionary and physician in the jungle of French Equatorial Africa he has excelled in many fields at a time when most men are specialists. Schweitzer was the great sensation at the Goethe Bicentenary at Aspen, Colorado.

Born 75 years ago in Kaysersberg, Upper Alsace, and trained at the universities of Strassburg, Berlin and Paris, he is the prototype of the Alsatian upper class which changed its loyalties but always was at home in two national civilizations. In a time that brought to the fore many brilliant figures of Catholic life, while the sterility of secularized Protestantism seemed to be evident, the Protestant world is proud to point to Schweitzer as the great Protestant genius of our time. Many books on Schweitzer have appeared during the last years; many of his own books have recently been translated into English.

Recently *The Philosophy of Civilization* (Macmillan) has appeared, the first American edition of the two first volumes of a work that claims to offer a new philosophy. The translation by C. T. Campion is not always precise or correct. For instance, Nietzsche's *Unzeitgemaesse Betrachtungen,* which means *Untimely Reflections,* are quoted as "Old-fashioned Reflections"—which is exactly the contrary of what the author intended, since Nietzsche regards them as untimely because they sound the fanfare of a new time. The translations of some of the abstract expressions of the English edition have already been revised for this new American edition and it seems to me that still more should be done in this line.

Schweitzer has written this philosophy of civilization far away from civilized life, in the primeval forest. The volume treats in its first part "The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization" and in the second part "Civilization and Ethics." Both parts were written between the First and Second World Wars. A third part has already been completed by the author, who is now working on a fourth part which is to bring the work to a conclusion.

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OUR REMARKS must confine themselves to the two parts printed in English. Schweitzer has to be judged on the highest standards, as it is written with a great pretentiousness and with a rather dictatorial criticism of the philosophers before him. Christ, or as Schweitzer prefers to say, Jesus, is only mentioned occasionally in this work of a Christian theologian while Kant is quoted about fifty times. Augustine is mentioned just once, while Thomas Aquinas and the other great scholastics are completely ignored.

Schweitzer regards himself as "a stranger amidst the intellectual life of my time," though his work is filled with modish rationalistic and positivistic prejudices. Schweitzer claims that only an ethical foundation can save civilization and especially our civilization from collapse. But this ethical conception is not derived from Christianity, which to him is "not a religion of world-transforming effort" (the early Christians expected the near end of earthly life), but is a rationalistic conception in the manner of the Enlightenment philosophy. It is only consistent that Schweitzer gives high praise to the rationalistic state philosophy of China, especially to Mencius.

Civilization to Schweitzer is neither organically growing nor is it the fruit of Faith, as Goethe claims in his notes to "Der Westoestliche Divan," but it is inspired by the determination of man to attain progress and to drive for actions that transcend the limits of individual existence.

Schweitzer recognizes that the future of our civilization depends on our overcoming the meaninglessness or hopelessness which characterize the thoughts and convictions of our age. His dogma is that "reverence for life" is the most important presupposition of civilization. To him life in itself is a value; while, it seems to me, for the Christian and other transcendental conceptions, life's value depends on the way it is lived.

Schweitzer aims at creating an "enthusiastic" ethical system that leads to an optimistic interpretation of the world and thus incites the will-to-live beyond the personal sphere into the advance of civilization. In this he comes rather close to the concepts of American pragmatism and pluralism, while he differs basically from the great European philosophers who developed a theoretic world view. Schweitzer claims that it is impossible to harmonize our life-view and our world-view and that in order to get rid of this dualism we must make up our mind to adapt our conception of the world to our life-view. Only by the ethical affirmation of world and life are we able to produce thoughts that are creative for the development of civilization. Schweitzer asserts that we have to liberate ourselves from that "miserable obsession" called reality and to throw a faith in a new humanity "into our dark age."

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THE negation of life is, according to Schweitzer, an antithesis to civilization. He denies that any philosophy of resignation can be an energy "which acts in intelligent harmony with the infinite will." Thus Schweitzer has no sympathy for any asceticism that has no distinctly altruistic features designed to be of practical help to fellow men.

State and Church are to Schweitzer no supra-natural organizations but necessary entities in the development of civilizations. He thinks it destructive that the individ-

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ual confronted with State and Church has to surrender more and more of his spiritual independence, and he thinks that these conflicts can be overcome when his key to all world problems, the attitude of "reverence for life," is prevalent in State and Church.

This is just a new version of philosophical utopia and not as original as the author of these thoughts pretends to himself. Schweitzer is not as antagonistic to the *zeitgeist* as he claims. His robust ethical activism corresponds very well to the tendencies of a secularized Protestantism. Schweitzer, in this book, does not express himself regarding the merits of the different Protestant denominations, but his praise of the practical Quaker activities is characteristic of his ideas about the desirable transformation of the Church. Nevertheless many Lutherans and Presbyterians abound in praise of Schweitzer's philosophy; this is most characteristic of the present crisis in Protestantism.

A Farewell to Aspirin

Leo J. Trese

TO THE AVERAGE outsider, Catholics are a religiously regimented people—spiritual Charlie McCarthys perched corporately upon the knee of "Rome." Such biased judgment is understandable, if the outsider's observation has been limited to mine-run Catholics whose highest spiritual urge is to find the latest and the shortest Mass of a Sunday afternoon, and whose ultimate appeal in religious discussion is, "You got me there, pal; I'll have to ask my priest about that one."

Actually it isn't from regimentation that we suffer; rather it is from mediocrity. The flat and uninspired level of Catholicity in America has been remarked upon so often as almost to need apology for repetition here. The fact, for example, that we have yet to produce a genuinely American saint; the fact that Saint Francis Xavier Cabrini, for all that we proudly accept her, is ours but by accident of her missionary zeal.

This is not to say that the picture is wholly dark. It is a debatable and an interesting question whether the basic Catholicism that fills American churches each week is not to be preferred to the startling contrast of spiritual heights and depths to be found in more ancient cultures. The list of saints scheduled for canonization during the coming Holy Year is top-heavy with French and Italian *beati,* nourished by the same soil that has given such lush growth to Communism, anti-clericalism, and outright atheism. It almost would seem that it takes the challenge of great evil to produce great sanctity. It almost would seem that the American tradition of wide-spread literacy without great scholarship has its counterpart in widespread religiosity without notable holiness.

Perhaps to do, rather than to be, is precisely our American part in the Divine Plan: to pack our churches on Sundays (with men as well as women); to be the financial mainstay of the foreign missionaries of all nations; to erect and maintain a system of Catholic education that is unique among all the countries of the world.

And yet this may be but one phase in our growth and development. The mediocrity which impresses the non-Catholic observer as a kind of sterile regimentation, may easily be a period of incubation whose term and whose eventual fruit is known only to God.

Rev. Leo J. Trese, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Carleton, Michigan, has just established a 39-acre retreat center called Marybrook Farm, near Detroit, that will be available to Catholic groups for retreats, Cana Conferences, study weeks or meetings of any kind.

★

THE stirrings are there: In the Friendship House groups and the Catholic Worker groups; in the Cana groups and the Catholic Action groups and the Liturgical Revival groups, which hardly can be called groups any longer, but have achieved the stature of movements in their last step before integration into American Catholic life. It is still true that not one Catholic in a hundred knows who the Young Christian Workers are; it is still true that not one Catholic in five hundred (or is it a thousand?) has ever read THE COMMONWEAL, or *Orate Fratres.* And it still is true that apostolic groups are pretty much in the position of taking in each other's washing, so far as the body Catholic is concerned.

One group that is doing much to remedy that situation, and to bring the meaning of an integral Catholic life to the American layman, is the Grailville school of apostolate at Loveland, Ohio. It is a school unlike any other in the nation, a school of Christian formation for young women from eighteen to thirty. It does not teach how to earn a living, but how to live, with a small "l". It aims to send its graduates forth, surcharged with a spiritual vitality that will make them apostles of the full Christian life in what ever environment is to be theirs.

From the Grailville press there has recently come a handbook, *Restore the Sunday,* (Grailville $3.00), that seeks to strike at the root of the problem of Christian living in a pagan world. If Sunday can again be made truly the Lord's Day, crowning the week that is past and sanctifying the week that lies ahead, then the Christian may hope to cope with the pressure of his secular *milieu.*

In the 171 pages of *Restore the Sunday,* a distinguished list of authorities on matters religious and liturgical discuss such topics as "The History of the Sunday," "The Mystical Meaning of the Sunday," "The Lord's Day in the Economy of Salvation." Such names as Monsignor Martin Hellriegel, Dom Damasus Winzen, and Father Romano Guardini, need no biographical annotation for the intellectually adult Catholic. But even such Catholics will be profitably surprised to discover the richness of history, meaning, and power to be found in the weekly Easter as propounded by the contributors to Part I of *Restore the Sunday.*

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The rescue of Sunday from its present debauched position as a day of semi-stupified recovery from Saturday's dissipation, and the revitalizing of it as a day of Christian joy, is the theme of Part II of Grailville's manual. It is here that theory is applied and demonstrated, by Grailville staff members and collaborators. It is here, too, that the middle-aged reader is likely to feel a twinge of nostalgia for the Saturday-Sunday atmosphere of his own Christian home, with friends and relatives in, with no thought nor need of high-balls to make hilarity.

Together. Together in Christ. That is the theme of the Christian Sunday, where it still survives and where it has been revived. It is the theme of Grailville's book. It sets a high ideal (by today's standards) with Saturday's Mass-preparation and Sunday's spiritual reading and Vespers. But it adds up to a rich and satisfying happiness that is as forgotten as Atlantis in the average American home—even in the average Catholic American home. The tired cynic will say that the whole idea is too far gone ever to be restored. But the apostle will answer that if the Lord's Day is lost, then the Lord's cause is lost. The present Holy Father has appealed for a re-Christianization of the Sunday as one potent answer to the world's ills. Grailville's *Restore the Sunday* is a concretization of that appeal. Read it yourself, by all means. And if you know of a family that is falling to pieces, put it in their hands and stand over them while they read it. It can accomplish more —because God's grace can accomplish more—than any book on mental hygiene or emotional adjustment.

Books

The Twentieth Century. A Mid-way Account of the Western World. Hans Kohn. Macmillan. $2.50.

THIS IS AN ideological cross-section of the world today. The author tries to construct an ideological field of forces, destructive ideas opposing constructive ones. Alas, his count of the former is much longer than that of the latter. Destructive ideas are divided into three classes. First, disintegrating forces inherited from the 19th century, namely, exaggerated nationalism, the cult of force, anti-rationalism and anti-individualism. Second, nefarious traditions—the Prussian, mainly militaristic, and the Russian, wrongly messianic. Third, old myths and new trends—is this not an awkward mixture? —out of which imperialism, racialism, fascism, national socialism and communism are singled out. As to constructive forces, only two are discussed—democracy and cooperation plus federation on the level of international relations.

Many chapters are interesting and all are well written. It is however dubious whether the author's approach really contributes much to the understanding of the crisis of our age. First of all, his classification of destructive forces is not clear and is overlapping. Nationalism is hard to distinguish from imperialism, racial-

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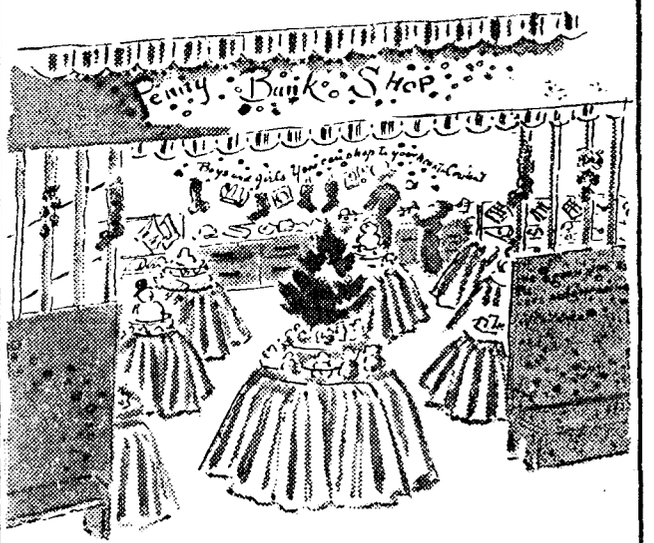

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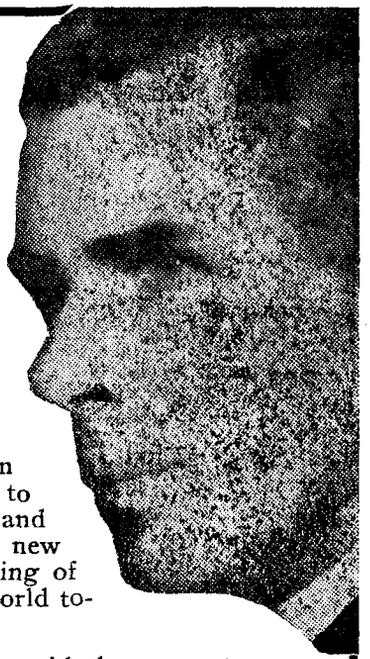

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ism is the backbone of national socialism, anti-individualism is strong in fascism and communism, communism has been blended with the Russian tradition, and so on.

Second, the catalogue of constructive ideas is surprisingly short. Socialism is not discussed, though it is now the official ideology of Great Britain; neither is cooperativism, in the meaning of the "middle-way" of the Scandinavian countries. But the greatest omission is that of Christianity which, though divided, is the main hope of salvation, the only possible center for the crystallization of the constructive forces of our day. In this regard, the author's analysis is definitely inferior to that of Sorokin.

Third, ideas are discussed as if forming an independent world developing by inner necessity and choosing individuals or groups to dwell in. The many "isms" passed in review by the author seem to be conceived as entities, good or evil, obsessing men of their choice. Human choices and human actions are relegated to the second plane.

This is why Professor Kohn's book does not give the reader deep insight into the ideological confusion of our day. By the way, is this not a sickness epidemic in our civilization? Did not Comte, one hundred years ago, invent sociology to find a scientific way out of trouble? Did not, fifty years ago, the attitudes expressed in such terms as bankruptcy of science, decadence, *fin de siecle,* determine the intellectual climate of Europe?

Nevertheless, as a description of the present day confusion and as a sequence of historical studies of the filiation of ideas, from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century, the book is both readable and instructive.

N. S. TIMASHEFF.

Shakespeare's World of Images: the Development of His Moral Ideas. Donald Stauffer. Norton. $5.00.

ABOUT seventy-five years ago Edward Dowden wrote *Shakepere: his Mind and Art,* perhaps the best of the Victorian studies of Shakespeare's moral and artistic personality. Dowden's picture of a Shakespeare who passed three periods—apprenticeship, sunny and tragic—to a final tranquillity was long accepted. Such an attitude went out of fashion during the first thirty years of the present century as scholars and critics turned to a reinterpretation of the plays against the background of Elizabethan stagecraft and ideas; but with the new zeal for the analysis of Shakespeare's poetic processes, particularly his imagery, which began in the 1930's, younger critics returned once more to Shakespeare the poet.

In *Shakespeare's World of Images* Mr. Donald Stauffer has reworked Dowden's theme to give his own picture of the development of Shakespeare's moral ideas from his beginnings as a callow rustic—or the Country Mouse, as Mr. Stauffer entitles his first chapter—through the School of Love of the romantic comedies, where he learned to suspend moral judgments, to a Garden of Eden when he assumed the goodness of Life. But the Garden was

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Unweeded, love turned to lust, and the world became a prison. Thence Shakespeare came to the Dark Tower of the greater tragedies wherein the great virtues are vindicated. He escaped by the Road to Freedom into a World of Images when finally the mind is imagined as creating reality, with the final conclusion that "though we are surrounded by currents of thought, billows of controversy, wavelets of the present and waves of the future, Shakespeare remains the butt and very sea-mark of our utmost sail. To an unstable world wavering between the two despairs of skepticism and fanaticism, he steadily exemplifies as his central moral belief, to use Shelley's thought, that the prime agent in moral action is the imagination."

It is impossible to do justice to Mr. Stauffer's close-packed book in a brief review; and if at times the reader wonders whether he is reading about Shakespeare's mind or Mr. Stauffer's, even when he disagrees most heartily with the conclusions, the process is stimulating. *Shakespeare's World of Images* is not a book which will help a student to pass examinations, nor will it greatly please professional scholars, for it is concerned with spiritual values which must be individual, personal and imponderable, but how refershing a change after half a century of studies of fact and problem, and even of the tabulation of poetic images! G. B. HARRISON.

Knight's Gambit. William Faulkner. Random House. $2.75.

WHEN THE SUNDAY book-review sections carry a piece about the condition of literary activities in France there is usually some acknowledgment of the influence and popularity of William Faulkner in that country. Recently the objections of François Mauriac to Faulkner were reported as the first dissent from the apparently unanimous approval of the American novelist by French writers. And just a few days ago the newspapers published stories that Faulkner had been a leading contender for the Nobel Prize for literature, an award which was not made. The publication, then, of a new book by this man should be a matter of interest and importance.

This collection of stories, however, should not add to Faulkner's status in the Nobel balloting, and it may promote other French observers to join with Mauriac on the opposition side. For these tales are mystery stories of inferior quality, without distinction in talent or ideas. They give no evidence of power or of vision.

In *Sanctuary* Faulkner's creative ability seemed to be confined to the verbalization of various possibilities of perversion. He told a story in which there was what his critic, Mauriac, calls "connivance with the material" —an association with the matter which prevented it from assuming symbolic shape, and kept it from achieving any importance but that of a brutal curiosity piece. The author, one felt, was concretizing some of the dark undercurrents of his imagination for their own sake as sensational items, and was, at the same time playing the

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ogre before readers who would surely be squeamish as he enjoyed the depravities. The tone and the treatment failed to infuse the stuff of the story and it remained a "cheap idea . . . conceived to make money."

Faulkner was not capable of exploiting the interior monologue in *The Sound and the Fury,* so a finished vital product never appeared. Repetition, alone, induced an atmosphere of anesthesia which immobilized the action, and the free associations were, in many instances, extravagant and harmful. None of the characters impressed, none of the social reflections rose above the commonplace.

As I Lay Dying was an expanded story with a "twist." Each section was headed by the name of the character from whose points of view the action to be described was seen. This work was a show of force, a literary weight-lifting exhibition, but it was based on a trivial idea, the prolonged funeral trip of a family by horse and wagon with a coffin holding the dead mother. The climax was a dismal, uninventive creation appropriate to Sunday Supplement stories.

To understand the persistent praise which follows Faulkner's work one must be willing to concede the possession of an urgent persuasive rhythm which appears in his books, and which is continually referred to as his technique.

To many people Faulkner's importance lies in his social commentaries. His writing has been invested by these observers with the subtle quality of exposing decadence peculiar to the South, and with a unique power of indicting the modes and manners of that section. But in the books mentioned, and in this latest book there are no skillful revelations and no perceptive methods. There is, in fact, no apparent dissociation from the defections and the degenerations which are recreated. And the figures who represent evil are blunt, indelicate creatures, caricatures—Jason in *The Sound and the Fury,* Snopes and Gowan in *Sanctuary,* the drug store clerk of *As I Lay Dying.* Finally, the convolute prose which Faulkner emphasizes is often called "poetic." But beside the finished, effective sentences of some other regional writer like Elizabeth Maddox Roberts it brazens out excessively.

These latest stories, which revolve around a country lawyer, are not ambitious pieces. Gavin Stevens is a duplicate of the usual detective story hero. He wears a Phi Beta Kappa key, smokes a corn cob pipe, speaks only when necessary, and then in the supercilious way of "who-dunnit" stars. Although he studied at Heidelberg and translates the Bible into "old Greek" and plays an unbeatable game of chess he loves to associate with the local people.

This sentimental, conventional characterization is accompanied by plot structures which fail to rise above the hack level, and the whole attempt becomes a rather miserable and mawkish performance. GEORGE MILES.

Who Shall Bear the Flame? Come Let Us Adore Him

Let all of us together make a pilgrimage to the crib of Bethlehem. What poverty, what wretchedness, what apparent powerlessness! Nothing, it seems, could be weaker than this Infant who has just been born, yet at the same time, nothing is stronger. It is a beginning, a renewal, God is made man.

No one will ever be loved as Jesus has been loved, and He is loved. Men will predict the end of His kingdom. Nations shall separate themselves from Him, and assure for themselves only the horrors of war.

No true progress of humanity can spurn Him. If men fail to take Him into account, their material progress will end only in destruction and death.
—Jules Giraud Saliege

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Benjamin Constant. Harold Nicolson. Doubleday. $4.00.

GOETHE once made the observation that Benjamin Constant was a brilliant man. The reasons for that judgment are made partly clearer by this three-hundred page biography. But since that remark had reference particularly to the ethereal qualities of conversation of which Constant was a master, it is understandable that not even the virtuosity and charm of Mr. Nicolson's approach, not even his courteous moralizing and subdued scholarship, can recapture for us the fascination of the contradictory Swiss Independent of the French Restoration. Aware of that difficulty, the author suggests that the reader consider his a cautionary tale with morals for all: educators, artists, politicians and parents; all save Benjamin Constant, who can only be judged when compared with himself. This urbane tone and the technical excellence apparent in the all too brief political background effectively prevent the characterization from occasionally falling into the minituae of the prosaic.

Benjamin Constant was the embodiment of compromise and irresolution from a startling number of points of view. Ideologically no longer a man of the eighteenth century, but nevertheless not a Romantic, his indecision was to project itself in every phase of his life, partly account for his political fiasco, and ultimately inspire the self-pitying autobiographical novel of his affair with Mme. de Stael. In politics, his personal appearance, magnificent lack of tact, and clumsily concealed habits of deceit and subterfuge confirmed a regrettably widespread reputation. In the field of comparative religion, his strongest interest, a five-volume study which

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posterity benignly relegated to the pure erudites, revealed eclecticism and uneven scholarship.

If the man were of any stature the story of his defeat could have assumed tragic proportions. But what can one feel on reading of his panicky race to marry another woman in order to find refuge from Mme. de Stael or of his deft reconciliation of his defense of constitutional rights with the about-face support of Napoleon during the hundred days? To delineate, then, the smallness of his political and private life is ultimately to picture Constant as a rather Wildean wit, an image which leaves one with a feeling of malaise. One element only in Constant can be of some actual importance and justify the man: the political theorizing which once made his influence comparable to that of Bentham. Few thinkers of the Restoration had such a critical appreciation of the British constitutional system and certainly few made their countrymen more aware of the need to temper French political thought with the practical sense evidenced in the English party system. This contribution of Constant can still live, for his personal failings should not deter us from carefully evaluating a political doctrine strong and coherent enough to attract thinkers as diverse from the Swiss Independent as Chateaubriand and Montalembert.

SERGE HUGHES.

The Best of Intentions. Robert Molloy. Lippincott. $3.00.

SOME YEARS AGO, a song entitled "Accentuate the Positive, Eliminate the Negative," was quite a popular success. Reverse its title and you have a motto for Mr. Molloy's expertly told tale of an almost completely frustrated man. From untied shoe lace to unmade up mind, Joe Moreton is a study in the elimination of Yes and the accentuation of No.

A 1949 resident of upper Manhattan, Joe Moreton tells his story in a flat, lower-case voice. At daytime odds with a wife who captured him under night time auspices, the father of two slightly precocious children, Moreton moves through a physical hasteland, thinks in a spiritual wasteland and suffers in a moral manyland. Under the weekly assault of a religion sometimes more glorious in its edifices than in its impact, the daily victim of subtly insulting subways and a moodily irresponsible employer, he somehow goes on paying the family bills and falling asleep after dinner. Almost estranged from his wife over the issue of birth-control, he doesn't quite bring off an affair with an unwillingly-willing "mistress." The torch he carries for a childhood sweetheart is eventually snuffed out, but the memory of the brightness lingers in the small back rooms of his mind.

Mr. Molloy is clearly a skilled and professional novelist. His skill is considerable enough to induce a certain kind of terror in his reader—terror that comes not from things happening but from things not quite happening. Hemingway's art has been described as concerning itself with "people to whom things happen." Mr. Molloy's art concerns itself with people to whom things do not happen. This is to say that the author of this book is

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concerned with the man crossing the street, with the woman next door, with you and with me. There are no romantic events in the lives he chronicles, and there are no tragic happenings. There is only the quiet, steady hum of the humdrum. There is a Hollywood glamor about the usually brief lives of those fulgent few for whom the bell tolls. For Mr. Molloy's grey men and women no bells at all toll as they run downstairs to catch the Express at 96th Street.

There is pertinent comment—low in tone, minor in key—in this book and it may easily be missed. In it, the properly pious will find confirmation of their noon-time vision of things; but those who see a world caught in "the whirling ditch of daybreak" will pause and ponder. Refusing to confuse the confession with the thing confessed, the number of communicants with the swallowed God, they will welcome Mr. Molloy's sharp relevance. Their welcome will be all the more enthusiastic because of the absorbing, fast-moving story in which that acerate acuity is solidly lodged.

MURRAY HICKEY LEY.

• REVIEWERS •

N. S. TIMASHEFF is a professor of Political Science at Fordham University.

G. B. HARRISON, the distinguished British Shakespearean scholar, is the author of *Introducing Shakespeare*. At the present time he is on the faculty at the University of Michigan.

GEORGE MILES, a graduate of Notre Dame, lives on Long Island.

SERGE HUGHES teaches at St. John's University, Brooklyn, New York.

MURRAY HICKEY LEY recently returned to his native Iowa after completing advanced studies in New York.

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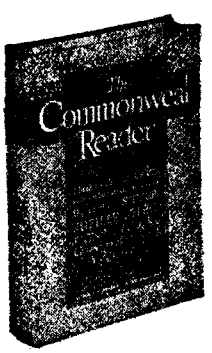

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